192 is appointed, the owners of several heads of cattle must present him with
431 a cow. The abagaragu can, but are not obliged to, do likewise.
231 3) When the king or an umutware dismisses or despoils a chief, the abagaragu of the new chief can also each give him an indabukirano.

The Bahutu give goats, sheep, and hoes. [57]

192 INTORE. 1) Like the king, certain great chiefs possess a corps of
231 intore (dancing pages) (1) (2). A rich Mututsi's child who goes to a
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1. From gutora, "to take," or gutorana, "to levy," "to choose."

2. Cf. Government and Administration, The Intore, p. 78.

provincial chief to become a page brings him a y'intore cow, which is given to the umutware y'intore (commander of the pages), who thus becomes in a way the shebuja of the child's father. The latter however is not held by any bond like an ordinary client.

192 2) Also called intore are the cows given compulsorily by the
231 abagaragu to a noble Mututsi who succeeds his father as head of the
651 family.

3) Tax paid in cows.

INGORORANO (3). Cow given to reward a warrior for his courage

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3. From kugurorera, "to gratify."

or for a service rendered. Whoever has cared well for the master's cows (inyarulembo) or ingarigari) or who has cultivated his fields well may receive a cow. To reward the umutware w'intore for his instruction, the father of a page also gives an ingororano.

192 UMUHETO. A cow taken with a bow and arrow (umuheto). This
231 used to be war booty. In the past this name was also given to the tax paid
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651 by warriors.

IMIGOGORO (4). A cow sent every day to the white people to

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4. From mogogoro, "fatigue," "annoyance," "imposition." Before the Belgian occupation these cows were called imbyukuruke (lit., parade).

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Gissaka, a war in which he was killed, had designated as regent of his son Kyilima Rugwe, an Umunyginya called Chyenge, and not one of his brothers-in-law.

meetings of the Council of Ministers until her son is about fifteen years old, an age at which he can exercise supreme authority. Formerly, the Mwami's maternal uncles, taking advantage of his youth and their own privileged position, would often have recourse to violence and trickery in order to increase their provinces and their herds.

11. Political Divisions

631 The characteristic traits of feudalism are found in Ruanda. The dispersion of authority and property and the Mwami's bestowing on his subjects benefits and commands that are always revocable, result in great uncertainty for everyone and permit the king to establish his domination firmly over the country.

635 631 Ruanda is divided into provinces (intara) placed under the command of a single chief (umutware w'intebe).(2). There are

2. Intebe, stool-seat.

exceptions to this rule. In Bgishaza, for example, two different chiefs are placed under the orders of the umutware w'intebe, the umutware w'ubutaka who exerts his authority over the lands and the Bahutu, and the umutware w'umukenke who governs the pastures, the herds, and the Batutsi. The abatware are appointed by the Mwami. They do not necessarily belong to the first families of the country. An average Mututsi or even a Muhutu may become a chief, thanks to royal favor that rewards his intelligence and devotion. [99]

635 701 In the past, at the time of the wars, the Mwami's abapfumu chose from among the abatware w'intebe the umugabe w'ingabo (chief of the army). When peace was concluded, the latter remained what he had been before.

631 635 There are abatware who personally own hills in other provinces (1).

1. Since 1924, aiming to unify the commands of the provincial chiefs, the government has endeavored to persuade the abatware to exchange hills.

634 The abatchibiri, who own only a part of a province, are also directly subordinate to the Mwami, who has given them their lands.

622 562 624 The ibisonga are placed at the head of one or more hills. They are the supervisors of the abatware and the abachibiri, on whom they also spy for the Mwami. Women can be ibisonga. For example, they can be the Mwami's abaja (mistress-servants) who, as a reward for the bestowal of their favors, are given a hill. But the most frequent case is that of a widow of an igisonga [sic], without any male children who, while attending the king, obtains permission to continue to manage the hill held by her husband (2). Each hill chief has

2. An example would be Nyiraigweni, widow of Nyantabana, a great provincial chief, replaced today by Rwabutogo who commands the district of Buganza in the territory of Nyanza.

under him a factotum called umuhingisha who designates and marks the boundaries of the fields, for which the Bahutu have asked the chief, and who may even settle the palavers in the absence of the igisonga. The umunyabigega is hierarchically subordinate to the former igisonga. He is the steward of the granaries (ibigega) of the chief whose cultivated fields he supervises.

631 622 The abanyabikingi command only a portion, a spur of a hill. Appointed directly by the Mwami, they act as supervisors, and even as spies of the ibisonga for the king. [100]

12. Succession of Command

●635 Like the royal office, the position of provincial chief is hereditary. It is assigned by the chief to one of his sons whom he considers most worthy to succeed him. It may happen that he may at the same time become chief of the clan, but it is not always so (1), for the family and the clan are social entities that are distinct

1. Cf. the example quoted in Personal Status, The Head of the Family and of the Clan, p. 6.

from political units.

The new chief must come and announce his father's death to the Mwami, bringing him a yo kubika cow, (lit., which announces death). On the other hand, he receives some indabukirano from his people and his friends.

622 The chiefs other than the abatware are appointed by the latter and confirmed in their functions by the Mwami.

13. Taxes and Forced Labor

651 Along with the civil obligations derived from the ubugaragu
466 contract, there are others due to the chiefs as such.

A. Obligations Due to the Hill Chief.

The Bahutu who are not abagaragu of the igisonga must bring the latter once a year a large basket of sorghum (urutete) and a small basket of beans (ipfukire). Formerly, they were also required to cultivate the chief's fields (ubuletwa or uruharo) (2), to build and main-

2. In 1924 this custom was modified by the authorities in order to improve the lot of the Muhutu, who now give only two days of work out of seven.

tain each a part of the chief's rugo (kubak'inkike), and to act as messenger (gutumwa). Finally, the igisonga keeps a group of five

644 to the royal court because, due to some suspicion or other, the king wants to have them near him and under his supervision.

635 565 In Urundi these provincial governors are almost without exception members of the royal family (abaganwa) or of one of the kin groups of the high Bahima nobility related to the king by marriage (see pp. 91, 101 also p. 182 of original text [not translated]). However, in the subdistricts of the provinces 634 ordinary Batussi are appointed as government officials (abatware or batwale). Sometimes, especially in the southeast, there are also Bahutu serving as batwale. This office is hereditary within the appointed families, but the king may annul the succession by inheritance of a son after the death of a mutwale. Also, he may appoint a new mutwale any time he pleases (No. 19, p. 267).

631 614 [635] The same organization of officialdom also exists in Ruanda. Similarly, in Ankole the entire country is divided among nine governors or high batwale responsible to the king. There they carry the title Bakungu and are all members of the royal clan, [89] Abahinda. Each Mukungu has several district [634] chiefs under him. However, these are all representatives of Bahima clans and each of them is elected by his clan which means that he is the eldest of the clan. These men have petty jurisdiction over their clan members, while disputes between different clans are decided by the Mukungu. The office of [635] Mukungu is hereditary. (No. 27, p. 98.)

643 614 In Urundi, however, the monarchy is not, or not yet, as well founded as in Ruanda (King Musinga). The cause for this may be found, above all, in the much stronger spirit of independence of the Barundi and in the still very strong clan organization of the Batussi and the Bahutu. However, the kings of Urundi and their powerful kin group, the Baganwa clan, have managed in the last two decades to have almost all the clan elders in the country, who formerly had a free hand, replaced by officials and vassals of the king who back up his absolute power.

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[635] The small provinces of Bukonya, Mulera, Buhoma, Bushiru, Luhengeri, Kingogo and Bgishaza, all of which are situated toward the north and west, formed as /80/ many mutually independent principalities. The situation was the same toward the south, in the Munyambiriri and the Kinyaga, where several petty kings ruled side by side as in Biguzi, Bukunzi, and Busozo. Toward the southwest the Burwe, also known as Mukindo or Ndala, may have been autonomous. The province of Bwana-Mkali was itself divided among several petty kings. There was practically no cohesion among those various groups, although they were for the most part of common origin.

The north is, indeed, populated by tribes who came from Mpororo and the Ndorwa. They are the Bahunde (1), who settled in

1. The "Bahunde" came from the northwest of Lake Kivu, from the various areas designated by the respective names of Kamuronsi, Gishari, Shari, Buyungu, Butembo, and Bwito.

the northwest, particularly in the Bugoyi. In the Kinyaga, toward the south, one finds a mixture of Bashi, or Banyabungu, who crossed the Ruzizi River, and Barundi, who have mixed with them. The inhabitants of the Burwe and Bwana-Mkali are also Barundi.

In the central province of Nduga there lived a group of individuals known by the name of Ababanda, who were divided into small groups and governed by several petty kings. The small lands of the Muhanga and especially that of the Marangara had a certain renown in local history. This will be discussed in the "History of a Reign" /Book III, not translated/. At that time, the most powerful of those petty kings was unquestionably the famous Mashira, who also possessed the Ndiza to the north in addition to most of the Nduga.

Legend claims that it was in his capacity as sorcerer that he was earnestly requested by Kigeri I, the Hamitic king who is believed to have lived at Mwurire near Kigali, to come to his aid. The

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Abarangamyambi	Bumbogo, Bussigi	Gashamura
Abangogo	Kingogo	Luvuzandekwe
Abatanyagwa	Budaha	Lwamanywa (1)
etc.	etc.	etc.

1. The Batwa, like the Bahutu, are divided into several army corps.

The four principal ones are the following:

The army corps called Rwiririza, which includes the Batwa of Gihogwe, in the Nduga, beyond the Kayumbo River; the Biniga, which includes the Batwa of the Bwana-Mkale and which has as its chiefs two Batwa, Senkobga and his son, Kanyamubare; Abagiga, or Batwa /371/ of the great chief Kayondo; and finally the Batwa soldiers called Impunyu. These are none other than the forest Negrillos who are commonly designated by the name of Impunyu, whose etymological meaning is "men of small stature," that is to say, Negrillos or Pygmies, of which the native word is an exact translation.

Such is the military regime that still prevails, although in purely theoretical fashion. /371/

Until 1900 most of the Hamitic kings had taken advantage of this system to such an extent that some clans are said to have been decimated as a result of the too numerous expeditions of ancient times.

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2. The provincial governors (Abatware b' intebbe), who are nearly always at court.

686 "Why don't you make the sky weep if you wish to find a remedy for your suffering!" people would shout at them as a joke (1).

1. Izuba libaririre!

"If it does not rain at such-and-such a time, if you do not make our fields green again, you will die".... And execution followed close upon the threat.

635 692 Like the king, the great Batutsi chiefs sat in judgment and passed sentence in their provinces when they resided there or whenever they were passing through. They were not all alike. Among them there were just and humane men, and one likes to believe that they were in the majority. Some nevertheless left a bad reputation on account of their cruelty. It is said that two of them took pleasure 681 in having the arms of their victims bound behind their backs with wire drawn so tightly that the elbows met and the wire sank into the flesh.... Many persons died of this unique and atrocious torment. Another dignitary had those upon whom he wanted to wreak his revenge immobilized and made to lie on their backs.

Then he would make his victim drink a pitcher of beer or water through a gourd shaped like a funnel. A third man, leaning heavily on his spear, would pierce his victim's foot and thus nail him to the ground. A high dignitary punished those who had displeased him by seizing two of their fingers and pulling them apart with all his might, thus tearing the tissues that connected them. Fortunately, however, those were exceptions which should be ascribed to paganism, the primitiveness of customs, the cruelty of the times, the criminal procedures then in effect, the passions aroused by clan struggles, the competition for power, the revolutions, and sometimes also the proud and savage conceit of chiefs who were too young to govern. /380/

643 661 In order to gain an accurate understanding of the more that prevailed at the time, the reader must be reminded that the life of a man counted for very little in the eyes of the king and of the great chiefs. Subjects of Lwabugiri who are still alive today (he died in 1895) report that in order to show his skill or to judge the strength of his bow, the sovereign would shoot at the first person who appeared

642 614 178 However, the Bagwabiro, an impoverished Batutsi clan, maintain that the king gave them the bush knife (muhoro) for Bugoye. They occupied large areas, defended them, in some parts successfully, against the encroaching self-contained clans, and settled them with exiles, refugees, and vagabonds, who make up the biletwa of the Bagwabiro. Here the community headmen are officials of the king, which is in contrast to the situation among the rest of their clansmen where bagabo only collect taxes for the Bagwabiro. However, there seems to be a tendency to blot out the difference between Bagwabiro and tax collectors (clan elders) and to make serfs of the clan members, as is already the case with the Bambari.

In Nduga the population on the various hills is very mixed. It belongs to different clans. Most of the land belongs to the chiefs (the large landowners), and only occasionally do we find ngabo (fighting farmers) who are exempt from compulsory service (buletwa), that is to say, who live on their own land (granted to them by the king).

In this way clan organization in Ruanda is broken up by the rule of the herdsmen and the resultant development of a peasant aristocracy. The factors that remain to uphold clan organization are the food taboos, exogamy, and blood revenge.

The effect of royal power on the homogeneous clans has resulted in the differentiation of the population.

In Urundi the tendency towards centralized state organization [266] does not seem to have made much progress as yet. Here there are still feudal masters who are unrestricted rulers of entire provinces, while in Ruanda the chiefs have nowhere near the same independence on their lands. Here too, however, the land is regarded as the king's property.

635 Political Organization. Ruanda consists of a number of provinces with geographic names but without administrative units. We have already mentioned Nduga, Mukinjaga, Bugessera, Bugoye, Bwischascha, Mulera, Bgisha, Ruweruka, Ndorwa, and Kissaka.

634 The individual provinces have no central administration and no governor. The provinces are divided into a number of communities, most of which are assigned to clients staying at the

651 by their ancestors and from which they were not driven away during the conquest.

The second ancient burden is butaka. It is paid primarily in food and tobacco and only to a minor extent in cash hoe-money. The king's capital does not have any fields of its own. The court is fed by supplies delivered by subjects from near and distant provinces. Only cattle are pastured in the environs of the capital; there are no farmers who till land.

644 651 All the potentates living at court are fed from home. Bringing food for the chief residing at court is called kugemurira mutware. Food supplies are brought almost daily. As a result, any stoppage of this traffic means a food scarcity among the dignitaries thus affected. There are no markets where provisions could be obtained. Because of this primitive arrangement, food in the capital is always rather scarce, and everyone to whom I spoke about this told me that no one lives in the lap of luxury at court during his stay which is usually involuntary. The Batwa bodyguards even maintain that they actually starve and would very much like to return to their poor settlements.

To these two ancient tax burdens Lwabugiri added the war tax (umuheto) and Musinga the food supply tax (ilali) for visiting Europeans.

651 661 Among the Bahutu the furnishing of food supplies for visiting Europeans is merely an additional tax for the benefit of their chief. He regards the presents of the European as his property and not infrequently takes for himself part of the supplies brought by his people for the Europeans. I saw an example of this in Kwa Rutagungira. The requisition for my presence brought the chief three goats and four pots of beer, but I received only two pots and two goats. The larger pots and the best goats were put aside by the chief, but this was done too close to my camp to escape the notice of the people who were excited by the approaching pots of beer.

651 635 The collection of butaka and muheto, which are paid, theoretically at least, throughout the country, is distributed among various chiefs, as has already been reported by Von

651 Parisch. (1) He mentions: [272]
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1. Parisch, F.R.Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903 [Two Journeys through Ruanda 1902-1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), pp. 74, 78.

Province or Region	Chief (mutware)	
	Ku butaka	Ku muheto
Bugoye	Bushakwe	Bushakwe
Mukinoni	Bushakwe	Rudegambia
Bwischascha	Bushakwe	Rudegambia
Mukinjaga	Lubilinda	Rudegambia
Niantungu . . . . . (between Bwischascha and Nduga)	Bushakwe	Kabare
Munjaga . . . . . (belongs to Nduga)	Lujondo	Kanuma
Kawagali . . . . . (belongs to Nduga)	Bushakwe	Bushakwe

Von Parisch also mentions the mutware ku muheto Balahanda who led the attack on Count Von Götzen.

651 The butaka, it seems, is always collected by the chief to whom the land is granted. The muheto tax, on the other hand, goes to the chief who is entrusted with the king's cattle in the district. He has the right to pasture cows on the harvested fields of the farmers, which is a very considerable burden to the population. Thus, for example, the grass on many hills in Bugoye belongs to Rudegambia, although Bushakwe is the high chief of the region. On my way to Kisenyi I saw many uncultivated fields that had to lie fallow because the Batutsi removed their cattle too late for planting.

Dr. Kandt (1) also speaks of two chiefs in the provinces. He

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1. Kandt, R., "Ein Marsch am Ostufer

10: Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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its own rules, if each infraction were punished strictly according to prescribed sanctions and if all the formal norms were always respected. To be a part of a society is to know which of its rules prescribe or prohibit absolutely or conditionally; whether a particular action which is not forbidden is nevertheless something that is simply "not done"; whether human beings, always imperfect, must in any particular case actually be punished or whether the offence should blinked. Exceptions to the formal rules are not haphazard. Rather, they are ordered by what may be called implicit norms, or secondary or functional norms. These are as well known and as well established as norms which are explicit and formal. Taken together, the explicit, primary norms and the implicit, secondary norms form the "active norms" of the society. By means of secondary norms, society can come to terms with the social and psychological impossibility of a perfect correspondence between the formal norms of the social structure, invented by men in the interest of social order, and the actions of men confronted by the empirical realities of human existence.

Each society has its own calculus of values by which it establishes its active norms, the norms to be respected verbally but understood to be neither practical nor practised, and the rules of punishment which are to be taken seriously. It will not be possible to understand the life of the women of Burundi without knowing both the formal norms of the social structure and the secondary, functional norms. The life of a Rundikazi is made up of various elements. To reconstruct it, we shall begin with a description of women as members of Rundi society, of which they form an integral part. We shall then describe women in the specifically feminine roles, and we shall conclude with an account of the devices used by women to realize the values of their patriarchal society.

* * *

The Rundi describe their society as a hierarchy ordered by *Imana*, the Supreme Being, who is at its summit. Among human beings, it is the *mwami*, the king, who is superior to all. In the past, there was also Kiranga, the legendary head of a possession cult. He was said to be of approximately the same rank as the *mwami*.[6] Immediately below the king are the *baganwa*, the princes—four generations of the descendents of a king. The *mwami* and the *baganwa* are the rulers of the Rundi. In the traditional system, the power of the *mwami* was defined by his inheritence of absolute royal power and of the entire country, together with all its goods,

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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as his private property. No Rundi had rights, power, lands, or cows, except as the *mwami* granted. He distributed his lands and cows and administrative power to those of his brothers and parallel cousins who were on his side in the political battles. These *baganwa*, today called "chiefs", become the vassals of the *mwami*. The *baganwa* distributed the lands and cows they received to *batware*, captains, today called "sub-chiefs", who became their vassals and who in turn procured vassals for themselves by giving to their inferiors small plots of land and a cow here and there. Changes resulting from European influence are gradually eliminating the feudal characteristics of the social system. However, the principle and the order of the hierarchy have so far remained unchanged.

Below the princes in the hierarchy are the *abafasoni*, nobles, those who were once princes but who at the fifth generation are so no longer and who will one day be numbered among the commoners. To describe the commoners, it is necessary to take account of the three *aboko*, castes—the Tutsi, the Hutu and the Twa.[6] The Tutsi are by far of the highest rank among the commoners. Although they make up only ten per cent of the population, they are the masters of the Hutu, who make up more than 85 per cent of the population. It is believed that the Tutsi are of Hamitic or Nilo-Hamitic origin, whereas the Hutu are clearly a part of the Bantu hoe-culture, characteristic of East and Central Africa.[7] Burundi is beyond doubt a "cattle-complex" country. The Tutsi are herders, and nobody debates the superiority of the herders. It is said that the Tutsi, once formidable warriors, on their arrival in the country about three centuries ago, had no need to conquer the Hutu by using their spears. The Hutu to this day willingly become the serfs of the herders in order to receive cows from them. Between the princes and the Tutsi, there is very little difference in rank. Between the rank of the Tutsi and that of the Hutu, there is a very great difference. The Tutsi and the Tutsikazi disdain the Hutu and the Hutukazi, considering them their born servants. Nevertheless, the princes or the king sometimes appoint Hutu to be *batware*. A Hutu thus honoured is the political superior of the Tutsi under his authority. This circumstance in no way modifies his social inferiority. On the contrary, it exacerbates race prejudice. No social mechanism can change the caste in which an individual is born. The Tutsi do not drink with the Hutu, even when they become administrators, for one does not drink with one's social inferiors. The next downward step in the hierarchy takes us to the bottom of the social ladder and almost outside the society to the

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